

Following that vote, the Senate may turn to the consideration of any legislative or executive items cleared for action. As a reminder to all Members, a vote has been scheduled to occur at 2:20 p.m. Tuesday, September 22 in relation to the KENNEDY minimum wage amendment.

ORDER FOR ADJOURNMENT

Mr. SANTORUM. If there is no further business to come before the Senate, I now ask unanimous consent the Senate stand in adjournment under the previous order, following the remarks of the Senator from Pennsylvania or any person he should yield to.

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. DEWINE). Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. SANTORUM. Thank you, Mr. President.

PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION

Mr. SANTORUM. If I can, let us return to the issue that we have spent a great deal of the day debating. I know the hour is late. Let me thank the staff who are here, the pages, and others. The pages are actually very happy I am up here talking, because if I talk for a little while longer they will not have school in the morning. So that will be a good thing for them—as I see the smiles down there and the encouragement to wind it up and get going.

I thank the Senator from Arkansas for his indulgence in presiding during these remarks. But as I mentioned today, I think this is one of the most important issues we can face here in the U.S. Senate. As the Senator from Ohio eloquently said, it begins the process of defining who we are as a country and what will become of us as a civilization if we do not begin to draw lines where lines need to be drawn.

I just find it remarkable that we seem to create these fictions when it comes to life. When it comes to the life of little children, we create this fiction in our mind. And it was a fiction that was created back when *Roe v. Wade* was decided that these were not really babies.

We did not have good ultrasounds then and the kind of technology where we could really see how developed these little babies were in the womb. They were just sort of passed off as these sort of blobs. Yet, we now know, through the miracle of ultrasound, and other techniques, that these are precious little developing babies.

It is very difficult as a father who has seen those ultrasounds of our children to dismiss the humanity, that my wife Karen was carrying a blob of tissue or something that was prehuman. But we tell these lies to ourselves in order that we can go on and in order that we can sort of live with our own internal inconsistencies.

One lie you cannot tell, one lie that is inescapable—inescapably alive—is

the lie of partial-birth abortion being something that is medically necessary or that simply this baby is just sort of this blob of tissue. This baby is outside of the mother. Its arms, its legs, its torso, outside of the mother—just inches away from being born.

One of the things I often marvel at—and I just do not understand—is why wouldn't you, if you have gone through the process, as I described earlier today, of dilating the cervix over 3 days, reaching in with forceps and pulling the baby out in a breached position, which is dangerous, again, for the baby and mother, and you deliver that entire baby, why wouldn't you just let the rest of the baby come out?

Why is it necessary to protect the health of the mother at that point in time—now that you have gone through all this other procedure—at that very crucial moment when the doctor takes those scissors and begins the process of killing that baby? Why at that moment is the mother's health in less danger if you kill that baby than if you just gave that little, helpless, defenseless and, yes, even at times imperfect life the opportunity for life?

Why does that so endanger the mother to do that? Why is it necessary to thrust these Metzenbaum scissors into the base of the baby's skull? Why is it necessary to suction the baby's brains out?

So many doctors have described to me in testimony—and today at a press conference—the complications resulting from this blind procedure where the physician has to feel for the base of the neck and could slip and miss. As the Senator from Tennessee testified today, there are large vessels, blood vessels within a centimeter from the point where this procedure is done that a minor miss could lacerate and cause hemorrhaging and severe complications, or by thrusting the scissors in the back of the neck, through a bony part of the brain, you could only imagine what would happen to the skull of that baby and what damage that skull could do to the mother.

How can we—how can we—continue to contend or pretend that this is healthy for the mother to end this baby's life when it is this close and a delivery could be performed? Let's get away from that charade because it is a charade. It is not about the health of the mother; it is about killing a baby. It is about making sure, beyond any certainty, beyond any doubt, that the result of this abortion you are going to have is a dead baby.

That is what this is about. This is about a lethal form of abortion, not a healthy form for the mother—far from it. Even folks who disagree with this legislation will tell you that this very well may not be the safest form. In fact, that organization has not done any studies to prove it is safe, that is, the American College of Obstetrics and Gynecologists. They have done no studies to prove that this procedure is safe, that this procedure is preferable.

They say—they say—and I will quote them—they say:

[We] could identify no circumstances under which this procedure . . . would be the only option to save the life or preserve the health of the woman.

That is an admission by the organization that all those in opposition to this bill use as their medical shield. Listen to what they say. They never read this part of the letter. They only read the second part, which I will read to fully disclose. I will read it again, an ACOG policy statement emanating from the review declared that:

A select panel [the panel they selected to review this] could identify no circumstances under which this procedure [partial-birth abortion], would be the only option to save the life or preserve the health of the woman.

They went on to say that a partial-birth abortion:

. . . however, may be the best or most appropriate procedure in a particular circumstance to save the life or preserve the health of a woman.

They say that:

. . . only the doctor, in consultation with the patient based upon the woman's particular circumstances can make this decision.

That is what you hear from the other side. What you do not hear from the other side is that this report lists no circumstances to support that claim. They can give, and in fact have given—this was written well over a year ago—they have given no medical situation, no scenario, no hypothetical where what they say may happen would, in fact, happen, which is that a partial-birth abortion would be preferable to some other procedure. They just think it might.

Now, I might be wrong, but there are probably very few things that are happening in obstetrics today that haven't happened for the past several years. There are not a lot of new things coming up. There are problems that come up routinely. There may be some strange problems; they are probably not new.

To make this kind of statement and support it with no evidence is irresponsible. To use this organization and this statement as a shield when they cannot provide one single example where this procedure would be preferable, again, just builds up the record that I have laid out. This entire debate is based upon a series of misleading statements to try to divert attention away from the horrible, barbaric reality and the fact that this is not a medically necessary procedure.

I want to get back for 1 minute to the issue of life of the mother which I addressed a few minutes ago. I said I would read the piece of legislation itself to put to bed, if you will, any concern by anyone who might be listening that there isn't a legitimate life-of-the-mother exception. I noted the American Medical Association's letter of endorsement of this bill. They believe there is a legitimate exception if the life of the mother is in danger.

Let me read the actual legislation, the paragraph on prohibition of partial-birth abortion: